



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

**FBIS-AFR-91-246
Monday
23 December 1991**

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Rwanda

'Thousands' Flee Rebel Attacks in Northwest

EA2112130291 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0430 GMT
21 Dec 91

[Text] While politicians are holding tough discussions for a coalition government, the rebel cockroaches continue their barbarous onslaughts against people living along the border.

Radio Rwanda regional permanent correspondent in Ruhengeri, Jean-Baptiste Hakizimana, reported that the rebel cockroaches attacked Butaro Commune near the Rwanda-Uganda border, aiming mainly at the refugee camps. Fighting continued yesterday afternoon with the rebels looting the Kinyababa center. Thousands of people were seen fleeing the fighting, while school children returning home for their holidays headed towards the camps, not knowing where their parents were.

Further Details Given

AB2112133091 Paris AFP in English 1314 GMT
21 Dec 91

[Text] Nairobi, Dec 21 (AFP)—Rwandan authorities confirmed on Saturday [21 December] that its forces were locked in a bloody battle in an effort to repulse rebels of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), who attacked four areas in the northeastern Ruhengeri region on Thursday.

According to a broadcast on state-run Radio Rwanda, monitored here, the rebels crossed into Rwanda on Thursday night from Achiya forest on the Ugandan side of the border.

"They attacked Rutovu, Kinyababa, Chindonyi and Rugenda areas in Butaro district of Ruhengeri, killed many people and forced many others to flee their homes," the radio said, without giving casualty figures.

"The Army has just begun battle with the rebels to try and dislodge them and drive them out of our territory," the radio added, but did not say how many rebels were involved in the attack.

Butaro is 80 kilometres (50 miles) west of the Volcanic Mountains on the Rwandan Ugandan border, which is home to Rwanda's famous but rare species of mountain guerrillas.

Saturday's broadcast was the second time Kigali had admitted that rebels were fighting inside the country. The rebels are mostly Tutsi refugees who [word indistinct] the Ugandan Army with their arms and unsuccessfully invaded Rwanda on October 2 last year.

About 400 rebels took control of parts of Ruhengeri last January, but were driven back over the border into Uganda by Rwandan Government forces.

Opposition Groups Leave All-Party Talks

AB2112073091 London BBC World Service
in English 1705 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] The democratization process in Rwanda has hit a stumbling block. The new prime minister, Sylvestre Nsanzimana, who was appointed on the twelfth of October, was supposed to set up a transitional government. But so far, he hasn't been spectacularly successful, with opposition parties giving him the cold shoulder. From Kigali, (Ali Yussuf Mugenzi) telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Yesterday, the prime minister convened an all-party meeting to discuss the program of the transitional government, but the four main opposition parties stormed out. They said that they would not participate in this government.

The parties which stormed out were the MDR [Democratic Republican Party], PST [expansion unknown], PL [Liberal Party], and the PSR [Rwandan Socialist Party]. The four parties are against the prime minister being from the ruling MRND [National Revolutionary Development Movement] party and want him to be from one of the opposition parties. But when President Habyarimana opened the meeting, he said that the prime minister would not be changed since he had been appointed according to the Constitution. The four parties also want the current Constitution to be revised so that the prime minister can have more authority and want him to be able to preside over cabinet meetings. They also want a national conference to be called, but the president is also against this because he said it is unconstitutional. Following the walkout, the prime minister said that he would form a government with the parties which are still participating in the consultation meeting.

Apart from the MRND, the rest of the parties taking part in the meeting are quite weak. A total of nine parties have already been legalized in Rwanda. [end recording]

Djibouti**Gouled Promises Referendum After 'Invaders' Leave***EA2012140291 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali
1700 GMT 19 Dec 91*

[Excerpts] Alhaji Hassan Gouled Aptidon, president of the Republic of Djibouti, spoke today about fulfillment of the promises of political change. [passage omitted]

This afternoon we interviewed the president on the timing of the new political structure. Here is Hawraha Musa, who listened to the president's speech:

[Begin recording] Before I answer that question, I would once again like to send condolences to the families of those killed as a result of the problems and fighting. In regard to the political changes I announced on 27 November, I can say that preparations are under way, and I can also say that within the set time a public referendum will be conducted to determine this issue. The referendum will be held immediately after the foreign invaders are expelled.

It is reasonable, President Gouled Aptidon said, that the referendum cannot be discussed so long as the people in the country's northern regions cannot participate in it. Elections and referenda should not be restricted to a segment of the population. As I have said before, the new national legislature will be elected on a democratic basis with many candidates participating and contributing suggestions [words indistinct] many parties if the people opted for them, initially. As I have stated, President Gouled Aptidon said, we will undertake long-term political change.

The Republic of Djibouti will follow the path of political change taken by other African countries on the basis that everybody is free to express his opinion. This issue requires that special laws be implemented. In regard to the changes in election and democratic legislation, the president said he would seek advice from a committee of legal experts and the public. All these issues would be implemented six months after the invading foreign armed groups had been removed from the country.

He appealed to people of all ages and districts to uphold unity, which is the mother of progress and peace. President Hassan Gouled Aptidon added that there was no civil war in the Republic of Djibouti. He said the Republic of Djibouti and its people were compelled to counter foreigners who had invaded the country from outside. We did not want to damage the existence of our country. He said it was possible for differences to arise within a family and that these differences could [words indistinct] if members of this family support each other and believe in the idea of preserving their common interests. He said Djiboutis were similar. Our country is not in danger and time will prove that the people of the Republic of Djibouti wish to carry on national construction. The president said: I would like every

Djibouti citizen to participate in these issues, which will be implemented as soon as peace and stability return. [end recording]

Opposition Sees 'Declaration of War'*LD2012214291 Paris Radio France International
in French 1830 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[Text] The Djibouti opposition is very dissatisfied with the recent announcement by President Gouled. As far as it is considered, this presidential speech says nothing new, as, and I quote, the president does not want to speak with those he is fighting. Let us listen to the reaction of Ismail Ibrahim, spokesman in France of the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy [FRUD]. He spoke of a virtual declaration of war. He explained this to Carmen Bader;

[Begin recording] [Ibrahim] It is a declaration of war because Gouled said that the consultation with the people can only take place once the, and I quote, armed bands operating in the north of the country have been driven out of the national territory. In the knowledge that the FRUD has liberated two-thirds of the country and that there is no way that the tribal army can recapture this territory, this becomes an impossible mission. This is also a stalling tactic because Gouled is counting on the help of his creditors in general, and that of France in particular, and this is to finance his dirty war.

[Bader] So what do you suggest exactly?

[Ibrahim] We are making an appeal to the creditors so that they do not allow themselves to be dragged into this hornets nest. The FRUD suggests opening negotiations with all the political parties on neutral territory so that the democratic process that the whole country needs can be drawn up in a calm environment. The FRUD sets the freeing of its spokesman, Dr. Abbate, as an inviolable precondition to all dialogue. [end recording]

Government Issues Statement on Ties With France*EA2212102091 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali
1700 GMT 21 Dec 91*

[Text] In a statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, the Government of the Republic of Djibouti has said that it is very happy that the (?misunderstandings) between it and France have ended. The Government of the Republic of Djibouti expressed satisfaction that success has been achieved in restoring confidence between the two friendly countries.

The Djibouti Government [word indistinct] in the French Foreign Ministry's statement that Djibouti could now expect support from the French Government in implementing the political liberalization announced by the president of the Republic.

Ethiopia

Afar Front Denies Plans To Create Afar State

EA1812133391 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad
Oromo Masses in Oromo to Ethiopia in Oromo 0430
GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Afar Liberation Front [ALF] has said that those who are spreading false propaganda among the people and trading in the people's name by claiming that the ALF is interfering in the internal affairs of the peoples of Eritrea and Djibouti are against the charter of the Ethiopian Transitional Government. The ALF has also said that the peoples of Eritrea and Djibouti, who were under colonial rule, have achieved democratic rights they [words indistinct] and the ALF contributed its support towards that; therefore, it does not want to jeopardize the peace and freedom of the peoples of Eritrea and Djibouti.

According to a press statement released by the Executive Committee on the recent ALF conference—its stance and goal concerning the Afar people as well as what was said at the conference by its leader Sultan Ali Mireh—ALF wants peace for its neighbors and brotherhood among the peoples. It does not wish to create any conflict at all.

The ALF added that it believes that the Afars in Eritrea and Djibouti are the brothers of the other Afars in Ethiopia so it wishes to maintain relations of social coexistence with them. The Front added that since it associates itself with the problems of Afars in Eritrea and Djibouti, it would make a peaceful and constructive proposal to create a situation to ensure respect for their rights, to enable them to live in peace in the countries where they reside. It added that in saying this, it means that the constitutional rights of Afars in Eritrea and Djibouti will be respected, and that it believes in this.

Expressing its full support for the conference held on [word indistinct] July to resolve the Eritrean problem, the ALF clearly stated that some people believe and say that the issue of Afars in Eritrea is separate from the Eritrean issue. This implies that the chauvinists want to bring war, for they do not have any concern nor aim.

It went on to say that when one talks of the achievement of the unity of the Ethiopian peoples, this does not mean dividing the people into administrative areas, but bringing together divided peoples and working jointly to improve their social lives in order to achieve development. The aim of the Front is, therefore, to create a system towards this end, and we want to make it clear to everybody that the Front does not have any desire nor will to create the so-called great Afar (?state).

Government Decree on Local Election Conditions

EA1912101591 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network
in Amharic 1700 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Decree No. 9 on creating conditions for national local administrative elections, issued by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia on 10 December]

[Text] In view of the fact that we must urgently, even if only partially, implement the decree establishing the police and security forces; that in accordance with the decree to establish the national local administration, there are no favorable conditions in most parts of the country for direct elections to the same bodies; that the preconditions allowing citizens to freely elect and be elected in accordance with the charter have not yet been fulfilled; and that there is a need to fulfill these preconditions and other favorable conditions so that elections for the local administration can be held, the Transitional Government of Ethiopia's Council of Representatives has issued the following decree in accordance with Article 9d of the Ethiopian Peace and Democracy Transitional Conference Charter.

Article 1: Brief title: This decree can be referred to as Decree No. 9, which is intended to provide a favorable atmosphere of peace and stability for holding local administrative elections.

Article 2: General: In order to create favorable conditions in accordance with this decree, the following shall be implemented right away:

I. The establishment of temporary district and kebele administrations, independent of organizations.

II. A decree to dismantle all WPE [Workers Party of Ethiopia] security and Dergue kebeles everywhere; members of these structures and other individuals armed by the Dergue will be disarmed.

III. All people armed by political organizations soon after the downfall of the Dergue must be disarmed.

IV. Police and security forces will be established and armed with the participation of the people.

V. In order to confine all members of the Transitional Government's national defense, and Army, and Armed Forces of other organizations in appropriate camps, they will be removed from everyday police and administrative activities.

VI. All illegally armed elements engaging in lawless acts will be arrested with the help of people in the interest of restoring peace and stability throughout the country.

Article 3: The establishment of provisional administrations:

I. Provisional administrations shall be established at the district and kebele levels to function on a temporary basis.

II. The Council of Representatives shall establish executive committees at all national levels to implement the elections of members of the provisional administrative organs. Whereas the majority of the committee members shall be drawn from the relevant political organizations, members of other independent organizations shall also participate.

III. At the district level, there shall be a district administrative committee of seven members elected by the people of the district. The election of these members shall be effected by the electoral executive committee, established by the Council of Representatives for a national area or by a subcommittee to be established whenever necessary by the Executive Committee.

IV. At the kebele level, the kebele administrative committee shall be elected with the full participation of the kebele residents. The district administrative committee shall follow up on the proper execution of the election at this level.

V. Candidates for election shall not be regular members of political organizations, shall fulfill other criteria for the election, and also participate in the election. Regular members of political organizations can only be elected if they meet the required criteria.

VI. The temporary administrations shall perform the following duties:

A. Ensure that all basic government development activities in their areas proceed unobstructed.

B. Direct disarming operations.

C. Recruit police and security forces.

D. Ensure the arrests of lawless individuals in coordination with local people and;

E. in collaboration with neighboring local administrations work for stability by representing the local people.

VII. The term of office of the provisional administrations shall continue until the national local, district, and kebele administrations are established under the terms of the decree.

Article 4: On disarming and dismantling of the Dergue-WPE structures:

To avert potential problems arising by virtue of the existence of the Dergue-WPE structures in the rural areas and to enable the peaceful disarming of citizens who illegally acquired weapons, the following shall be implemented:

I. Members of every kebele, peasant association, executive members of former popular organizations, members of the WPE, and security personnel shall and will be registered.

II. Citizens armed directly or indirectly by the Dergue in every peasants' association and urban dwellers' association will surrender their weapons. Those claiming to have already surrendered the arms to the government or their political organization must produce evidence or pay a penalty for unaccounted weapons.

III. Former soldiers who have returned to their kebeles but who remain armed must surrender their weapons.

IV. Any individual applying to organizations for weapons after the downfall of the Dergue will first surrender the weapons already in their possession.

V. Individuals armed by the people before the downfall of the Dergue and who were under the control of political organizations shall remain armed.

VI. Individuals claiming to have purchased weapons:

A. will not be disarmed if they have evidence of purchase;

B. members of the WPE; security, kebele, and executive members of organizations and associations; and former soldiers shall surrender their weapons even if they have proof of purchase and a license.

VII. The district and kebele administrative committees mentioned earlier in this decree shall apply these rules using their own forces or, if necessary, with help of the Transitional Government Army.

Article 5: On the establishment of police and security forces: In order to carry out peacekeeping operations before and during the election process and to ward off interference by armed political organizations, the police and security forces must be established before the national local administration.

Article 6: On the establishment of the police force:

I. The central government can set up a police force numbering no more than one-third of the strength of the police force it will allocate to the national local council before the election.

II. In accordance with criteria to be set by the central government and with the government's allocation directive, the members of the police force shall be recruited with the participation of the people.

III. After a brief period of training, the police force members will be armed and deployed. The central government will undertake all necessary actions for training the police force.

Article 7: On the establishment of the security force:

I. The central government will issue criteria for recruiting security force members who will be armed by the kebeles.

II. The number of recruits shall be determined by the numbers of weapons collected [from the disarmed individuals], but it will be possible to allocate weapons in a balanced manner.

III. The district administrative committee shall determine the allocation of arms to kebeles, but such allocations in the districts shall not proceed until the election of the national local administration.

IV. Inasmuch as the arms allocated to these members will be the property of the people, they shall not be sold or exchanged. Any member of the security force who commits a crime using the weapon in his possession shall be legally charged after being disarmed.

Article 8: On the sources of weapons:

I. Most of the weapons needed to arm the police and security forces shall come from the weapons taken from the local people during disarming activities. Shortages of weapons will be made up by the central government.

II. Priority in the allocation of the weapons to be collected from these areas will be given to the police force to have fully automatic weapons. [sentence as heard] The area security force shall be armed with the remaining weapons after the police force has been armed.

Article 9: On placing the national defense army of the organizations and the Transitional Government into camps:

In accordance with the defense and peacekeeping police force establishment decree and other organizations, the following shall apply:

I. Organizations which are members of the Council of Representatives and claim to have armies shall officially declare this and register them.

II. Organizations which are members of the Council of Representatives and have officially declared and registered their armies shall fulfill the following criteria so as to correctly substantiate their claims with evidence:

A. The organization claiming to have an army must have participated in the Ethiopian Peace and Democratic National Conference which adopted the charter and must be a member of the Council of Representatives.

B. The army the organization claims to have must have been established before the destruction of the Dergue.

C. The army the organization claims to have must be organized and established as regular fighters.

D. Such an army must have been fighting against the regime with all its ability until the last minute before the downfall of the Dergue.

E. The organization claiming to have an army must prove it was fighting the Dergue, was controlling liberated areas in the countryside, was administering to the people and had been fighting the Dergue in the liberated areas and among the people until the Dergue was overthrown.

III. The evidence provided by the organization claiming to have an army must be supported by at least two other organizations in order to authenticate the claim and satisfy the abovementioned criteria. Such an organization must be one which performed a great role in the armed struggle and had the chance to enter into relationships with other organizations by extensively moving around the various parts of the country. The Council of Representatives shall determine the validity of the organizations adducing such evidence.

IV. The cases of organizations claiming to have armies, having registered them, informed the Council of Representatives and fulfilled the criteria as stipulated in Article 9 (I) to (III) will be scrutinized by the Defense Security Committee and forwarded to the the Council of Representatives for decision.

V. Any action by any organization to contravene the decision of the Council of Representatives after passing its verdict will not only be illegal but will be prosecuted under the law.

VI. With the exception of organizations whose armies have been approved by the Council of Representatives, all the stipulations of Article 4 on disarming individuals shall be applicable to all armed members of organizations.

Article 10: On principles to be applied in determining the strength of an army of an organization:

I. Organizations whose armies have been declared and accepted shall officially declare the army's strength and structure.

II. The following:

A. all Dergue soldiers recruited by organizations soon after the crumbling of the Dergue army, that is to say the Tewodros campaign and:

B. Members of the WPE and armed members of kebeles and security personnels within the organization's army shall be dismissed from the army.

III. Including sub-article (?I. C.) of this article, the following criteria shall form the basis for the strengths of the armies of organizations:

A. The strength of the army and its structure shall relate to the strength of the army while it was fighting the Dergue:

B. The strength and structure of their army shall relate to the area it has liberated in terms of the forces needed to defend the area.

C. The initial strength of the force shall be the strength which obtained at the time the Dergue was about to

collapse. In cases where the strength has already increased, such excess should not exceed 10 percent of the initial strength.

D. The strength of each army shall relate approximately to the strengths of armies belonging to other organizations at the time these organizations were working together.

Article 11: Proposals on the strengths of the armies of organizations:

I. In accordance with Article 10, the Defense and Security Committee will study the strengths and structures of the armies of organizations and suggest recommendations to the Council of Representatives.

II. If strengths are found to be in excess of those already approved by the council, the surplus shall be dismissed.

Article 12: On allocations of barracks:

I. Given the duties and responsibilities bestowed upon it, priority shall be given to the defense army in choosing the centers used as barracks and military training institutions under the former Ministry of Defense.

II. Apart from the barracks mentioned in sub-article I of this article, all other barracks can be allocated to the armies of organizations.

III. If the need for the construction of new barracks arises, they shall be built at the expense of the government, utilizing the expertise and labor of relevant army members.

Article 13: On army camps:

I. Apart from those daily deployed on obligatory missions, the rest of the defense army shall be accommodated in the barracks allocated to them under sub-article I of Article 12.

II. Sites of barracks for the armies of organizations must be:

A. Twenty to 40 kms within the country's borders and 10 to 20 kms left and right of the main roads and outside towns:

B. Within nation/nationality borders where they have been carrying out their struggle, but farther from borders of neighboring nation/nationality and;

C. In areas with access to education and services.

III. Members of the armies of organizations:

A. Will go to barracks that will be allocated to them:

B. From the time the soldiers are housed in barracks, the barracks shall be administered under budgets to be determined by the government.

Article 14: On illegally armed people:

I. Any individual who is to disarm under the above mentioned articles and is unwilling to comply or who has received accommodations in military barracks but fails to comply will be deemed illegally armed.

II. The district administration in collaboration with the people shall arrest illegally armed people and if this is beyond the powers of the district administration or the electoral committee, the Transitional Government's Defense Army, if summoned to do so, can arrest illegally armed persons.

Article 15: On divisions of labor and program execution:

I. In order to establish district and kebele administrations the local electoral commission shall take the following action:

A. Appoint committees to represent the area at the council and present them for approval:

B. Issue working directives to the committees, follow up their implementation and;

C. Report on its development to the council.

II. The council's defense and security committee shall in addition to conducting the election, perform all the duties set out in this decree. It will oversee and follow the relevant activities and report frequently to the Council of Representatives.

III. The committee to be established to conduct the election of the provisional district administration on the local and national level shall, as directed, by the council's defense and security committee coordinate and control provisional administrative activities in implementing this decree locally and nationwide.

IV. The implementation of this decree calls for collaboration with the Defense and Security Permanent Committee of the Council of Representatives and the national border demarcation and electoral commission.

Article 16: Penalties: any liberation front, political organization, group, private organization or individual contravening this decree or obstructing its implementation shall be prosecuted under the appropriate criminal laws.

Article 17: Contradiction with other laws: Any law which contradicts this decree shall be irrelevant to any issue stipulated by this decree.

Article 18: Enforcement of the decree: This decree shall be effective:

I. From the date of its publication in the official gazette.

II. It shall be implemented from between 30 and 45 days from the date it becomes effective as stated above.

[Dated] Addis Ababa, 10 December

[Signed] Meles Zenawi, president of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia

Kenya

Security To Be Strengthened Along Somali Border

EA2112150091 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] The Wajir District Security Committee has resolved to recruit home guards in order to improve security in isolated manyattas [settlements] near the Kenya-Somalia border. The move follows killings believed to have been committed by bandits who are suspected to have crossed into Kenya from the neighboring country five days ago. This was disclosed yesterday by the area district commissioner, Mr. Peter Raburu, when he spoke to KNA in his office. Mr. Raburu appealed to wananchi [citizens] to remain calm and desist from speculation and rumormongering as this could blow the isolated incidents out of proportion.

Thirteen people have been confirmed killed along the border.

Security Forces in Rift Valley To Quell Clashes

EA2212081591 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] An adequate number of security personnel has been dispatched to (Chepsaita) and other areas of Soi division in Uasin Gishu District [Rift Valley] to quell clashes [involving various ethnic groups] that erupted on Tuesday [17 December] night.

The assurance was given after a joint meeting between the Uasin Gishu district commissioner, Mr. Paul Lagat, his Nandi counterpart, Mr. David Mativo, and the Kakamega District commissioner, Mr. Andrew (Mondo) yesterday at Kamasai, where the clashes erupted.

Meanwhile, wananchi [citizens] in the area have been asked by the local politicians to stop the beastly acts of burning down houses, as the government was handling over [as heard] the issues. The joint consultative meeting to be attended by provincial administration officials,

security team leaders, and wananchi from the affected districts has been scheduled for tomorrow at Chaptala to resolve the problem.

Moi Dismisses Minister of Manpower Development

EA2312122591 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi has relieved Mr. Peter Oloo Aringo of his duties as minister for manpower development and employment with immediate effect.

COTU Official Reelected; Rival Union Formed

EA2112103591 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Joseph Jolly Mugalla today recaptured his seat as secretary general of COTU [Central Organization of Trade Unions] in a tension-charged secret ballot election to beat veteran and a surprise candidate for the post, Wafula wa Musamia, at the Tom Mboya Labor College, Kisumu. But in a turn of events, Wa Musamia of the Mines and Quarry Workers' Union, backed by 15 trade unions of the 29-strong workers' union organization, announced the immediate formation of a rival workers' union to COTU which they named as the National Congress of Trade Unions, NACOTU. The rival splinter group says they will hold a true workers' rally in three weeks' time at the famous Kamukunji grounds in Nairobi to challenge Mugalla's group in a popular workers contest to decide who their true leaders were. Addressing a press conference shortly after today's elections, the splinter group dismissed as a sham and an exercise calculated to impose some fellows in the labor movement. Mugalla trounced his opponent by 133 votes against 68 to clinch his former seat. Also to retain his seat was the first vice chairman of the workers' organization, Benjamin Nzioka, who beat Duncan Mugo, the secretary general of (Kudeyha) by 199 against 83 votes, while his first and his second vice chairman, Rajab Omwondi and Wilson Makumi, were elected unopposed respectively.

Further Reportage on Codesa, Speeches, Conclusion**De Klerk's 20 Dec Address**

*MB2012165391 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1538 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[South African State President F.W. De Klerk's address at the opening day of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa, at the World Trade Center, Kempton Park near Johannesburg—live; passages within slantlines in Afrikaans]

[Text] //Honored chairmen, honored delegates, honored guests from abroad, your excellencies, ambassadors from the international community:

The eyes of the entire South Africa are directed on us gathered here. The future of man, woman, and child, of rich and poor, of educated and uneducated, will be fundamentally affected by our successes or our failure. Africa is holding its breath in the knowledge that South Africa is an important key to greater stability and progress for a very great part of our continent. Important leaders in Africa, with whom I have held discussions over the past year, put it to me that they see South Africa as the locomotive of economic prosperity on the continent. The international community is looking forward expectantly for the stabilization of our troubled country, so that we can begin to play a constructive international role, the role for which we are cut out in this region. The world accepts that the process of change is irreversible and that the pillars of apartheid have been removed. Doors have opened for us over the whole world.//

//Obstinate people, criminals, and revolutionaries want us to fail, but the vast and silent majority in this country is praying for our success. The responsibility rests on the shoulders of those gathered here, to realize the hopes of our civilians, and the expectations of our friends, as well as to counteract the plans of those who want to sow chaos. Our goal is to guarantee a new, sensible, just, negotiated, and fully democratic constitution; a constitution which can guarantee a stable government; a constitution which can prevent abuse and domination, and one which guarantee sensible participation for all.//

//The commencement of this convention is the single, most important event since a broad consensus was reached on the importance of multiparty negotiations. In working groups and full sessions we will wrestle with the procedures and methods, as well as with the substance of the irreversible constitutional process in which we are involved. Success or failure, will be determined to a large extent by the will of participants in the convention, to find each other; their will to find each other along the way to giving and taking. In this spirit, the government is participating in this convention. We are here to find solutions, to build better relationships, and to jointly find a basis for a democratic, stable and prosperous future. We will state our specific viewpoints with conviction. At the same time, we will listen. We will listen to

all other views and try to build bridges across the divergent needs of our different cultural communities and interest groups.//

//If all delegations work together in this spirit, then I do not doubt that together we will make a breakthrough to long-term peace, prosperity, and progress within a true democracy.//

One of the greatest problems we shall have to overcome is mutual distrust and suspicion. No one can deny that it exists over a wide front. A particular facet of it emerges from the demands in various quarters for a transitional government, an interim government or a government of national unity. Suspicion exists that the government may wish to abuse its power during the negotiations and be both player and referee. I wish to make use of this early opportunity to attempt to remove this suspicion by spelling out exactly where the government stands on this issue. It is not the government's approach to cling to power or abuse its powers during the negotiations. A perception has been created that the government is opposed to any form of transitional government. That is not true and numerous previous statements confirm this.

The government's position is the following: We are prepared to begin negotiating immediately, on amending the Constitution of the Republic to make an interim power sharing model possible on a democratic basis. We are convinced that it is in the best interest of South Africa and all its people for us, us gathered here to institute expeditiously, as a first phase a government that is broadly representative of the total population. Such a generally representative government will not only see to the administration of the country but will also be able to take the lead in further constitutional reform.

We are equally convinced that the composition of Parliament, too, should be changed during this initial phase already, to include the total population in an equitable manner. In this respect we are almost ready to table specific proposals which, naturally, will have to be negotiated intensively together with all the proposals from all others. What we are not prepared to consider, is the circumvention or suspension of the present Constitution of the Republic. Any substantive constitutional amendments, even if they are aimed at transitional measures only, will have to be adopted by Parliament after a mandate has been obtained by means of a referendum. Such a referendum will have to produce, among other things, a positive mandate from the electorates of each of the existing houses of parliament. If the proposals in respect of transitional measures are fair, fair to all, the response from every section of the population will be an overwhelming yes. This does not mean that the rest of the population can be excluded from a referendum.

All South Africans must participate in such a referendum. We are also fundamentally opposed to a form of transitional government which, in the words of the ANC [African National Congress] this morning, will not be participatory. Government must after proper elections be composed in terms of the constitution of the day.

Unconstitutional government cannot be accepted in a country which is sovereign, independent, and whose sovereignty and independence is recognized by the total international community. Therefore the Constitution must first change—after a referendum mandating Parliament to change the Constitution. Thereafter elections must be held, and in terms of that new change, interim constitution, call it whatever you like, government must be constituted.

To sum up, I wish to state today in clearer terms than ever before, that the government is amenable to a negotiated form of transitional government being implemented expeditiously in a democratic and constitutional manner. A newly constituted parliament may be part of it. That could produce an entirely new dimension in the debate about a constituent assembly. This approach entails substantial advantages over the institution of all manner of cumbersome structures and forums to expand the say of people during a protracted transitional phase.

Constitutionally founded transitional structures may, and will, enable all South Africans to become part within a short time through their democratically elected representatives of decision-making, as well as of further negotiations about a more final constitution. Nobody will be able to dispute the legitimacy of such a transitional government and newly constituted parliament as is being done at present in respect of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] and other structures in our country. I wish to urge every delegation to think deeply about this approach. The government has no sinister, ulterior motives on this subject. It is our honest conviction that such a step is the shortest democratic and constitutional route to the aims we share with one another, and to the elimination of the many differences that still exists among us.

Mr. Chairman, from the government's point of view, there is one major obstacle in the way of rapid progress within Codesa. I regret having to refer to it here, but that is, unfortunately, unavoidable. It has to do with the lack of progress by the ANC in coming into line with other political parties and movements. It appears to wish to remain different. The heart of the problem is the following: The ANC has not yet terminated what it has itself defined as the armed struggle.

In this connection, the ANC has not honored important undertakings in terms of the Pretoria Minute and the D.F. Malan Conference, and has resorted to delaying tactics. Before the peace conference on 14 September 1991, I considered making the solution of this important problem, which includes disclosure of illegal arms caches within the Republic of South Africa, a precondition for signing the Peace Accord. In view of renewed undertakings at that stage by the ANC, I refrained from doing so. Unfortunately, this concession did not produce results.

As we are gathered here, there still has not been sufficient progress in spite of ongoing efforts on the part of the government. The stipulation in the Peace Accord that no

political party shall have a private army places a question mark over the ANC's participation in a convention which essentially is taking place among political parties. An organization which remains committed to an armed struggle cannot be fully trusted, cannot be trusted completely when it also commits itself to peacefully negotiated solutions. Everything that is happening in the world today proves that violence and peaceful compromise are not compatible. The choice is between peace through negotiation, or a power struggle through violence. The ANC and other organizations still sitting on two stools, such as the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], now have to make this choice.

The very stage of negotiation toward a new constitution, which we have reached here at Codesa, now makes it imperative that the ANC and others who wish to participate, will have to terminate [the] armed struggle before such participants can really enter into binding legitimate reliable and credible peaceful agreements.

The government will continue, through bilateral negotiation with the ANC and others to try to overcome this obstacle which is standing in the way of a peaceful solution. There is also distrust and suspicion about a variety of other things. Some of the participants in this convention are suspected by other parties who have chosen not to be here, of having hidden agendas. At this stage there is even mutual distrust and suspicion among the parties and organizations present here today.

Therefore, the challenge which we are facing is to address the basic causes of this distrust and suspicion. Codesa cannot succeed unless it generates confidence among the population. And it will be able to create confidence outside only if it is able, within a reasonable time, to reach convincing and workable agreements here to remove existing distrust, suspicions, and fears; if it is able to succeed in converting the deep seated policy differences among many of us into agreements and compromises.

//This we will not achieve if we are set on gaining victories over each other. If delegations work towards a win or lose situation, the Codesa is doomed to failure. If everyone honestly strives for a winning situation, then Codesa will be successful. For this reason, the foundation for agreement has to be reached within Codesa. To achieve a winning result we are required to stare reality squarely in the eyes. Conflicting claims, which is part of that reality, will have to be reconciled with each other meaningfully.

I will mention some of those conflicting claims: protection of fixed economic interests, of investors, land owners, businessmen, professional sectors, and employees who receive salaries, on the one hand, against the demand for better living conditions for the less privileged on the other hand. Conflicting claims, such as, on the one hand, participation by, and protection, of the minority against domination, against the demand for a majority—whichever way it is composed—on democratically acquired power. Conflicting claims such as those

for the acknowledgement and accomodation of our population's cultural diversity against the need for nationhood with common loyalty. Conflicting claims such as the need for language and cultural-based education, against the need for one education system.//

And so I could continue Mr. Chairman, the heart of the challenge lies in all of us having to learn not to propagate only the truth that fits our case, but also in being able to see and understand the truth that may not suit our case. And then together, working out the solution that recognizes the whole truth and deals with it sensibly.

In order to assist Codesa to do just that, I would like to make an announcement: the South African Law Commission has completed its report on constitutional models. This report will be released tomorrow morning. The report contains an excellent exposition of a wide variety of constitutional options relevant to the process of constitution making on which we have embarked. As a product of an autonomous body composed of independent jurors, the report is commended to all participants in Codesa as a valuable source of information for the work of this convention and its working groups.

The government, Mr. Chairman, is determined to make its contribution towards enabling Codesa to succeed. I am encouraged by that which has been achieved already. I believe that we are on the threshold of a new South Africa. A new South Africa firmly based on the foundation of fairness and justice. Let us join forces while talking openly and straightforwardly, also where we differ, but nonetheless, join forces in turning Codesa into the instrument to achieve this new, fair, and just South Africa. And let us pray to God Almighty that, under his auspices, because we are all in his hands, that we will succeed.

//In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I want to express my heartfelt thanks to all who have worked so hard on this first meeting; to members of government, to workers of the state, to leaders of all parties and organizations represented here, and all those who supported them. In the past few weeks people have worked hard. A great deal of time has been spent to ensure that we could get this first meeting off the ground, on a basically positive note, in the knowledge that we have already built and reached consensus on single, important facets. My wish, my hope is, and our contribution towards this will be that this convention will be the starting point of the realization of the dream of a just South Africa in which all the country's inhabitants will have a full and fair share in all that this country has to offer.//

I thank you.

ANC, NP, Officials Interviewed

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[South African Broadcasting Corporation political commentator Lester Venter and interviewer Lehana Tsotetsi interview African National Congress Secretary General

Cyril Ramaphosa, National Party Secretary General Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, and Conference for a Democratic South Africa Steering Committee chairman and Democratic Party leader Dr. Zach de Beer at the World Trade Center at Kempton Park, near Johannesburg—live; passages within slantlines in Afrikaans]

[Text] [Venter] //Good morning. Thank you Clarence and we welcome you to our studio here at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa] at the beginning of the second day's developments. At this stage the paint in our studio is dry and I hope the posters will stay where they are this morning. With me in the studio to discuss this topic, namely, today's proceedings after yesterday's developments, is my colleague Lehana Tsotetsi and my guest, Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, the African National Congress [ANC] secretary general. We expect more guests and during the discussion they will join us. To start off, I hand you over to Lehana.//

[Tsotetsi] Thank you Lester and welcome once more to our GMSA [Good Morning South Africa] program broadcasting live from World Trade Center, and welcome Mr. Ramaphosa.

Mr. Ramaphosa, you had a chance to sleep over the heated debate yesterday. People saw what happened and especially the fact that it was live. What do you think would be the mood, the starting mood today, after such a debate?

[Ramaphosa] Well, I think as Mr. Mandela said at the press conference yesterday, that this matter is now behind us. The altercation between himself and President de Klerk is behind us. We're moving on. Codesa is still on course. We're going to be discussing substantive issues now around the working groups as well as the standing rules for Codesa. I think what happened yesterday was rather unfortunate having been initiated by President de Klerk, but it clears the air. The ANC had to respond to what President de Klerk attacked us of having done, or not having done, and having entertained that debate we are prepared now to continue with bilateral discussions between ourselves and the government on the outstanding matters as well as to really get down to the business of Codesa. The real negotiation process must now get underway in the working groups and we must prepare to usher in a new dispensation for our country.

[Venter] Mr. Ramaphosa, sort of a devil's advocate opinion. Perhaps things were going too well yesterday. The negotiations and the talks and the relationship between the ANC and the government have been characterized essentially by their good spirit, at least seen from the outside, but given the deep divisions that have built up over the decades in our society, perhaps it's a good thing that some of that, at least, is reflected in the proceedings here so that the proceedings are not only reflective, but representative of the mood in the country and that the solution that will merge will be a valid one.

[Ramaphosa] Well, I would agree with that. It was necessary that that type of debate was done in the public

so that everyone can see what the ANC stands for and for what President de Klerk stands for. But I must also say it's not always all smooth and good between the ANC and the government. Some of the real negotiations, of course, take place in working groups on a bilateral basis and they take place behind the scenes, which is rather unfortunate because the full South African public is not able to see. But I think yesterday people will have had an insight of what really happens when the two main players in our country engage each other over issues on which they differ quite substantially.

[Venter] Not a very good thing, too. //Now, while we were talking to Mr. Ramaphosa our other guests joined us. Here we have Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, the secretary general of the National Party. Good morning doctor. We also have Dr. Zach de Beer, the chairman of the Codesa Steering Committee. Good morning doctor and welcome. //Dr. Van der Merwe you heard what Mr. Ramaphosa said about the nature of the differences and the clashes yesterday between the leaders of the two groups, the government and the ANC. Both parties have had a chance to sleep on it and to think about the matter. What is the National Party's opinion of the atmosphere concerning developments for the rest of the day? //

[Van der Merwe] //Well, I hope and believe that developments today will continue in a good spirit because there are important issues to be discussed. I do not think yesterday's events should have a serious effect on today's developments. It is a pity, on the one hand, that yesterday's incident had to take place but, on the other hand it was unavoidable, in the sense that it went to the core and the nature of issues in the negotiation process, and which, for many, many months was outstanding, and it could no longer be swept under the carpet. //

[Venter] //I see. Excuse me, we are discussing developments Dr. de Beer. Could you brief us on the procedure for today? //

[De Beer] //Yes. While yesterday's discussions, to a large extent, might have been ideological in content, we were busy with major principles concerning government, today's discussions will be more practical. Today's discussions will center on standing rules for Codesa on which the debates will have to concentrate. It will also deal with the issue of working groups. Those working groups are in reality, the core of Codesa. During this process the documents, the details, will have to be worked out. Compromises will be reached. Procedures will also have to be developed and this will keep the actual negotiation process, in progress. It is very important but it is not ideological in content. These are practical issues and I hope and trust that Codesa members will approach it in this practical spirit. I do not think we will see debates soaring to high temperatures today. //

[Venter] Down to the nuts and bolts as it were. But while these things have been going on, quite extraordinary developments on the macropolitical level. Lehana, would like to take this up with Mr. Ramaphosa.

[Tsetetsi] Yes, I think just before I come to that, Lester, I just want to get views and opinions of the three gentlemen regarding those parties which didn't sign yesterday.

[Ramaphosa] Well, we remain hopeful that those three organizations and administrations that did not sign the Declaration of Intent yesterday, will reconsider their positions to commit themselves also to the declaration. We think that they took a fairly positive and constructive approach by saying that they would like to reconsider and they would like to raise it in the steering or management committee which is going to be set up after Codesa. We think that is positive. It does not mean that they have rejected the Declaration of Intent. The Declaration of Intent itself is a document which is so important to set this whole process on the correct course, whereby all parties will commit themselves to the principles that are set out in that declaration. So we think that most of them, if not all, will in a short space of time come round and want to sign the declaration.

[Tsetetsi] Do you share the same opinion Dr. Stoffel?

[Van der Merwe] Yes, I do share that in the sense that I think all three of them that did not sign had fairly good reasons why they did not sign it at that stage, and so I don't think that this detracts from the value of the document as such, and it is quite possible and even probable that they will come round and join in that declaration.

[Tsetetsi] Now, Mr. Ramaphosa, again, the question of the government showing its commitment and its intention on an interim government, how did it come to the ANC (?members)?

[Ramaphosa] Well, our president responded to that yesterday and said that if the government's announcements or proposal of an interim government comes more or less in line with what the ANC has had in mind, then of course we would find it acceptable, but closer analysis of President de Klerk's proposals actually have led us to believe that what President de Klerk has in mind is to set up an interim or transitional government that in its nature will amount to something close to a glorified tricameral parliament. We suspect that it's an attempt to try and co-opt us into the present government, and he collapses the demand that the ANC has made, that is, for an interim government and a constituent assembly into one, and misses the point in doing so.

Our demand for an interim government is that it should be an interim government of limited duration and, in fact, we even argue that it should not have a life of more than 18 months, and its task should largely be to manage the transition, and you should also have a constituent assembly, which will have as its sole purpose to draft the constitution. President de Klerk's proposal is that you should have an elected interim government which will also be able to draft the constitution, but which will be

underpinned by an approval system through a referendum in which the present tricameral electorate will participate, and of course that cannot be accepted.

[Venter] //Dr. Van der Merwe, is it cheating on the government's side?//

[Van der Merwe] //No, if one speaks of an elected transitional government, then it is different from a co-opted government. Then the people are there, not at the invitation or the tolerance of the existing government, because this is what co-option means. They will be there in their own right and they represent people, so there is no issue of co-option.//

[Tsotetsi] Dr. de Beer. From the Democratic Party point of view there seems to be a disagreement on the issue. How do you see this?

[De Beer] On the issue of interim government?

[Tsotetsi] That's right, the issue of interim government.

[De Beer] Let me say that I agree with Mr. Ramaphosa that the issue of interim government and the issue of constitutional conference, as we prefer to call it, the drafting of the constitution, should be kept perfectly separate. They are distinct and any attempt to muddle one with the other will get us into a great deal of trouble. I listened carefully to what Dr. Van der Merwe said this morning, and it's helpful, but even with this help I'm just not clever enough to understand what it is that the president is proposing. I'd like to see it on paper and I'd like to have a wet towel around my head for a couple of hours and then I can know what it is. But certainly, it's encouraging that the president has demonstrated a willingness to move in this direction ...

[Venter interrupts] Dr. de Beer, I'm awfully sorry we have to interrupt. We must hand back to the commentators to see what's happening in the main hall.

Cochairman Hails 'Giant Leap Forward'

*MB2112122291 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1119
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[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 21 SAPA—Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] had made a giant leap forward from the days of an apartheid South Africa. Co-chairman Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed said in his closing address to the convention on Saturday [21 December]. "We have emerged stronger because some experiences have to be lived with intensity," Mr Mahomed said, referring to the range of debate at the Convention for a Democratic SA [South African] during its two days. "This first journey in intensity and passion is what history is made of in...leaps."

The experience of Codesa had "matured" the participants, Mr Mahomed said, adding: "make no mistake

about it, these are mighty achievements". Future generations would identify "this day and this moment" as the day "when South Africa was reborn".

Mr Mahomed highlighted three areas where "mighty results" had been achieved:

- Intellectually, if not practically, Codesa had made a "giant leap" forward from apartheid;
- After years of international isolation, observers from the international community had attended Codesa and declared their "unprecedented" support and solidarity for the negotiation process; and,
- Codesa had been given the "potential teeth" to sustain it in the future.

De Klerk's Closing Address Cited

*MB2112122891 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1137
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[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 21 SAPA—State President F. W. de Klerk preached a message of peace and hope on Saturday [21 December] when he delivered the last formal word at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa] near Johannesburg. "Codesa is a historic gathering. The work now must start. We have attained wonders in these last few days. The goal we have set is a noble goal. We are bringing about a new dispensation that will lead to a constitution that is fair, equitable and just."

In a conciliatory mood, Mr. de Klerk strongly pledged his government to work towards a new South Africa. "I pledge myself and my government that we won't allow anything to deter us. We will strive towards our common goals with every ounce in our body.

"We stand on the threshold of Christmas. And may the Christmas spirit of peace, integrity and brotherhood go with all who have attended Codesa," the state president ended to loud applause.

Earlier, Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] National Chairman Dr. Frank Mdlalose also sounded a note of reconciliation. "We have been on this road to democracy for many years. The IFP has fought apartheid throughout. We may have had different way, but the aim was the same—fairness, equality and humanness irrespective of sex, colour or ethnicity.

"We appeal to ourselves for tolerance, acceptance and the realisation that the 35 million people in this country cannot kill alike the cat the same way. There will always be differences, but we have started on a road of no turning back."

Mandela, Botha Remarks Cited

*MB2112124191 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1140
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[By Mark van der Velden]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 21 SAPA—State President F. W. de Klerk and African National Congress [ANC] leader Nelson Mandela publicly shook hands and made peace with each other at Codesa's [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] closing on Saturday [21 December] after their bitter clash on the first day of the convention. Mr de Klerk attacked the ANC for refusing to dismantle its armed wing and Mr Mandela later launched a scathing criticism of the president, saying he was not fit to be a head of state and was guilty of double-dealing—talking peace but waging war against the ANC at the same time.

The row cast a pall over prospects of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa's real success and delegates expected increased tension. Foreign Minister Pik Botha told delegates the National Party [NP] had been badly hurt by Mr Mandela's remarks, but had not hit back in the interests of conciliation.

On Friday night, it was learnt, the two met and discussed the crisis, deciding in the interests of a better atmosphere of conciliation at Codesa to make peace with each other.

On Saturday morning, before proceedings began, Mr Mandela and his delegation briskly crossed the floor to shake hands with Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha, but it was felt this gesture had not attracted sufficient notice from the media. As Codesa drew to a close on Saturday, Mr Mandela said in a special address he wanted to refer to the row, as it was of concern to delegates.

Codesa participants were brought together by a common commitment to find speedy solutions to South Africa's problems. "Our very presence here proves there is agreement to act in a constructive manner to arrive at this result. Therefore none of us should act in a manner designed to weaken any of the Codesa participants, because each of us has an obligation to bring our respective constituencies into the peace process.

"The growth of the rightwing in South Africa, (who are) committed to apartheid and ready to resort to violence for this end, must be a matter of concern to us all. The enemies of Codesa must be gloating over what happened here yesterday. What was said had to be said, but I would like to disabuse the rightwing of whatever illusions they might entertain that we can in any way approve of their efforts to undermine the ANC, the NP, the government and any other Codesa participant committed to peaceful resolution of our common problems.

"I am certain that participants will realise from what happened yesterday that solving these problems will not be easy. Therefore I once more commit my organisation to do all it can to ensure cooperation between all parties and the government, and appeal to all participants at Codesa to adopt the same attitude."

To a strong round of applause from delegates, Mr Mandela walked over to Mr de Klerk and again shook hands firmly and warmly in a clear gesture of peace and friendship.

Speaking in response, Mr Botha said that on behalf of the government, "it is my duty and the wish of my heart, to say to Mr Mandela and the ANC that we were badly hurt yesterday, very very badly hurt... There is no other way I can describe the remarks by Mr Mandela."

"I too can go back in history (but) I don't know where we must stop. I can think of 30,000 women and children who died in the concentration camps... that meant that we, the Boers, the Afrikaners, would have been a few million more today. I can think of the mineral rights my family was deprived of... I say this in all seriousness.

"The fact is that all of us, from so many countries over the world and from Africa, all of us have a history of conflict. We (the Afrikaners) fought the fiercest anti-colonial battle of the continent. We are African and we will remain African. All of us must stand together because we cannot afford to let important developments in the world pass us by."

Mr Botha said it was being openly spoken in the industrialised world of Africa as already "marginalised." "They are going to say goodbye to us... we need to stand together to show the industrialised world an united programme."

The foreign minister disclosed that Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela had met on Friday evening after their public row. The president had said some of the ANC's remarks had hurt him badly. Mr Mandela had said "all right, I will attend to it."

"You hurt us badly, we could have hit back... believe me, we could have hit back hard," Mr Botha said to a general murmur of scorn from many delegates. "But we refrained," Mr Botha continued, "for the same of a better atmosphere here and for conciliation."

ANC Closing Statement Cited

MB2112131591 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1147 GMT 21 Dec 91

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress, ANC: "Closing statement of the African National Congress—Codesa—21 December, 1991"]

[Text] We have come to the end of the first sessions of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. The results we have achieved confirm the vision contained in our statement yesterday. The foundations laid over these two days by the adoption of the declaration of intent and the agreement to establish working groups form the basis for a rapid movement forward.

We are very pleased with the frank and open way in which all organisations present put forward their views. In the context I would like to make a few remarks regarding the proposals contained in the statement of the government yesterday.

The ANC has consistently put forward demands for a legitimate constitution-making process, including the

establishment of an interim government of national unity and an elected constituent assembly to draw up and adopt a new constitution for South Africa.

We welcome the fact that the government has acknowledged the legitimacy of various points we have raised in this regard. These include the demand that the National Party should not be referee and player, that an interim government of national unity should be established expeditiously, and that both the present constitution and the tricameral parliament have no legitimacy. We also note the reference to a constituent assembly as part of the agenda for discussion.

We are ready to consider the proposals which the government says it is almost ready to present concerning these matters.

We must, however, make it perfectly clear that any proposals which aim at legitimizing the tricameral parliament by restructuring it through co-option are totally unacceptable. So also are suggestions to hold racially based referenda.

Furthermore, the idea of the establishment of an interim government which finds its form in a glorified tricameral parliament with an indefinite timespan is equally unacceptable.

We reiterate that the central demand of the ANC remains the full and meaningful participation by all South Africa's people, including those in the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states, in the whole process of drawing up and adoption of the new constitution. For us this means an elected constituent assembly.

For the ANC it is also critical that an interim government of national unity which should be of limited duration should be established expeditiously.

Amongst the proposals that have emerged, we would like to highlight the call for a Codesa amnesty for all remaining political prisoners before Christmas.

We firmly believe that from what we have achieved to date we can have a new constitution in place by Christmas 1992.

SACP Leaders Comment

*MB2112130891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
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[By Sue Thomas]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 21 SAPA—It would be the white community, and not Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], which would have the last say in an interim government, South African Communist Party [SACP] National Chairman Joe Slovo said on Saturday.

Speaking at a press conference at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, he said State President F.W. de Klerk's proposals were so vague it was almost impossible to comment.

"But what is clear is that what they have in mind is some kind of interim authority and broadening of parliament which will only be given effect after a referendum of the existing electorate has been held.

"It will be the white community, and not Codesa or the organisations represented at the convention, which will have the last say."

He said the government could perhaps be planning to turn the present tri-cameral parliament into a quadricameral parliament.

"It is our view that ultimately a future constitution must be adopted by a constitutional assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage."

SACP executive member Blades Nzimande accused the National Party government of being deliberately vague about its proposals "because they are in big trouble, particularly in view of its own constituency".

Despite the SACP's reservations, party General Secretary Chris Hani said there was broad agreement that Codesa had succeeded.

"I think it is victory that these organisations have come together and that the majority of them have signed the Declaration of Intent," he said. "Of course there are problems and it would be naive to expect difference accumulated over the years to disappear instantly."

Perceptions differed on how a new South Africa should be built.

"We would like an interim government as soon as possible so that a constituent assembly can be instituted without delay," said Mr Hani.

Mandela, Bophuthatswana Leader Meet

*MB2112143291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1219 GMT 21 Dec 91*

[By David Greybe]

[Excerpt] Johannesburg Dec 21 SAPA—[passage omitted] In a surprise announcement, Mr [Nelson] Mandela, [African National Congress [ANC] president] revealed that he had lunch with Bophuthatswana leader Lucas Mangope on Friday at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]: "Yesterday I had lunch with President Mangope. I am meeting him very soon (again)".

Mr Mandela said just because Mr Mangope and the Inkatha Freedom Party had not signed the declaration of intent, did not mean they had to be excluded from Codesa.

"We must not look at Codesa as a single act, as something that has to be achieved in one day.

"It is a process, and we are confident that Codesa represents a milestone in our struggle for a democratic South Africa.

"It is our task to persuade one another to look at Codesa in the same way," Mr Mandela said.

—Asked how the ANC planned to deal with the rightwing, he said that usually in such a situation parties spoke to one another.

"It must be remembered that at some time in history the National Party put exactly the same ideas as the rightwing today, but we have been able to turn them around as a result of discussions.

"We are prepared to have discussions with the rightwing," Mr Mandela said, but added:

"Of course, if discussions and persuasions don't work, the only other weapon we can rely upon, and which we have, is the question of the exercise of our power.

"We have the power if the rightwing decides to do anything to carry out the threats which they are making.

"We have got the power to address that question," Mr Mandela said.

De Klerk Cited on Referendum

MB2112144091 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1354
GMT 21 Dec 91

[By Sue Thomas]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 21 SAPA—If whites do not give their mandate to proposals for an interim government then "we will go back to the negotiating table," State President F.W. de Klerk said on Saturday at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa].

"We have to have general acceptance. If there is overwhelming support from the rest of the population and not from the whites that will be a clear sign for us to go back to the negotiating table," he said at a press conference at the close of Codesa.

"However, I don't think it will come to that. I believe the proposals we negotiate will get the full support from the full population."

He refused to disclose details of the proposals, but ruled out the establishment of a fourth black chamber of parliament.

He did say proposals for an interim government would be negotiated through Codesa before a referendum of all South Africans.

Mr de Klerk emphasised the entire population would be polled on the issue.

Changes in the constitution, he said, would be effected through Parliament before there would be an election for a new Parliament.

Asked about the timeframe for negotiations to start he replied, "Immediately, as long as it is done constitutionally".

He said it would also depend on how soon the Codesa standing committees were set up.

On his stand that Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; MK—African National Congress military wing] had to disband, Mr de Klerk said this applied equally to rightwing groups such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement].

He said he had not mentioned them by name in his speech to Codesa on Friday because they were not present at the convention.

NP, ANC Proposals Cited

MB2212070691 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0600 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] The first two-day meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa has ended, but parties have already started hinting at what they are going to put on the agenda for further meetings.

The National Party [NP] says it will propose an interim government which would be in power for at least one, but probably several five-year terms. The minister of constitutional development, Gerrit Viljoen, says the NP model will include a collective presidency for the leaders of the three largest parties, as well as a coalition cabinet. Viljoen says the National Party model will also include a two-chamber parliament, with one house elected on the basis of one person, one vote by proportional representation, and another in which South Africa's regions will be represented on the basis of an equal number of seats.

But the ANC [African National Congress], while saying it's prepared to consider the proposals, looks set to reject them. Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa says the NP's vision of a long-term interim government is unacceptable. He says the ANC wants an interim authority to last no more than about 18 months and that its main job will be to oversee the transition process leading up to elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Efforts To 'Persuade' PAC To Rejoin

MB2212074691 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0600 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU] are to try to persuade the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] to rejoin Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. Ibrahim Gambari of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid says this will be a continuous process, but he says his body doesn't want to pressurize anyone. He says it will ultimately be the people of South Africa who have to find the solutions in establishing a new country. The OAU's representative who attended Codesa as an observer, Segun Olusola, says his organization will also not impose itself on the process in South Africa but he says it will continue to play any role the South African people require of it.

Azapo: Codesa 'Sell Out' of Oppressed

MB2212161391 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1602 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Bloemfontein Dec 22 SAPA—The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) will sell out the oppressed majority under the pretext of a extending the political franchise to them, Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] Western Cape chairman Dr Khotso Mokhele said.

Addressing an Azapo meeting in Bloemfontein on Sunday, Dr Mokhele said the organisation was discussing the launch of a patriotic front with organisations which were serious about the liberation of the oppressed majority.

Azapo was puzzled by how anyone serious about the liberation of black people could believe that Codesa was capable of truly liberating the oppressed, he added.

Dr Mokhele said homeland leaders who have been "creating misery" in the lives of the people were now posturing as the ones who could help with a solution.

"Mr (F.W.) de Klerk has won the Codesa game before it even started."

He said Mr de Klerk has succeeded in packing Codesa with his "bantustan puppets" whom the international community now sees as statesmen.

'Exclusive' De Klerk TV Interview

MB2212211191 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in Afrikaans 1815 GMT 22 Dec 91

["Exclusive" interview with State President F.W. de Klerk, by reporter Freek Robinson, in the Johannesburg Studio on the "Agenda" program on 22 December—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Robinson] Mr. de Klerk, welcome to Sunday Agenda. It is a pleasure to have you with us once again. Earlier this year we interviewed you, and again in the middle of the year, and I think it is fitting that we are once again interviewing you. Several people said that I was previously unfriendly toward you. So I will try to be as friendly as you know me, that's about 15 years. [sentence as heard]

Mr. de Klerk, something which affected us all—those of us who were at the Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] conference—the fiery confrontation between you and Mr. Mandela. There were hard words from both of you. Have you buried the hatchet, or is there still a division between the two of you?

[De Klerk] Nothing that I said was personal. I focused on a principle. And that principle is a very important one. I do not run politics on an ad hominem basis. I play the ball and not the man. In that sense, personal problematics and insults will not divert me. What must take place in the best interest of everyone in South Africa is that we

must bring about a negotiated new dispensation. No one who has a reasonable following can be excluded from this negotiating process. I prefer everyone, all leaders with an existing support base, to be involved in the negotiating process. Whether there are disputes—I am not clashing with anybody. The dispute concerns a subject. Whether there is conflict or not, this must be overcome, it must be overcome by means of negotiations. Only then can we bring about long-term solutions. That is why I also emphasized the need—on the question of weapons, of hidden (word indistinct), I emphasized the need for the final laying down of arms, and to end, what is referred to, as the armed struggle—that this should now be addressed. I then immediately added that we would continue to negotiate the matter.

[Robinson] Good, I want to get back to the same point. Sir, I would like to know, following my first question, is there a personal relationship between you and Mandela? And is it, in the light of the circumstances at the Codesa conference itself, still important that there should be a personal relationship between the two of you?

[De Klerk] The personal relationship has been overemphasized in the past. I have had regular talks with Mr. Mandela and he with me. There is no reason why this should not continue.

[Robinson] But, sir, in a certain sense—if you want to continue talking about the matter—do you not feel in your heart that you have been hurt, and that you will not be able to have pleasant talks with him in the future?

[De Klerk] Mr. Robinson, I am not a man who walks about with grievances in my heart. I am really busy, and we are busy in this country with more important things. That is why it is necessary for all to rise above petit politics and to get busy with the matter which is larger than anyone of us.

[Robinson] Good, let us address the question of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; MK—ANC military wing], and the question of violence. How will this matter be handled? Will it be done by Codesa committees or will it be during bilateral talks between yourself and the ANC?

[De Klerk] In the past we had bilateral talks on the matter, and I clearly believe that we will continue with bilateral discussions. Before this conflict at Codesa concerning this matter, it had already been included in the agenda of Codesa working groups, not by us, only the wording is different. That is why it will also be discussed by the particular working groups. But as a major subject, which must nevertheless be handled, it is not only the ANC that is still having a problem with this matter, other organizations too find it a problem. There are threats of violence from the rightwing. [sentence omitted]. Wherever it exists will certainly enjoy the attention of Codesa in its entirety. But bilateral discussions will continue.

[Robinson] Yesterday I spoke to Mr. Chris Hani, who is chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and he says he has already told the National Party and the government that

there would be no solution to this problem until an interim government is formed. Is that acceptable to you or not?

[De Klerk] I clearly stated that as we are entering a new phase with Codesa, binding, real negotiations on the important matters on which agreement must be reached cannot be reasonably continued, with a party which still says that it is committed to the armed struggle. That aspect must be solved before agreement can be finalized on these important matters. It is our standpoint, and if there should be a difference of opinion, that will be the subject of negotiations on the road ahead.

[Robinson] I just want to refer briefly to another matter from Mr. Mandela's speech. He referred to the question of violence, making accusations against you and the police. If you quickly want to react to that, sir, you now have the opportunity to do so. If not, I would like to go on to the question of Inkatha. You know, sir, there have been several accusations against you personally, even after the assurances by you earlier this year that no funding was granted to Inkatha; now, again, there have been disclosures concerning that matter. Do you want to react?

[De Klerk] Concerning the first matter on violence, it is nothing new that the finger is pointed at the government. I have reacted to that so many times, and I also reacted clearly to that at Codesa. There is no doubt that the state, by means of the police or the South African Defense Force, would do anything to maintain law and order in an impartial manner. No facts have been given to me on the existence of a so-called third force. Despite talks about that, no substantive facts have been produced on organized involvement by the security forces, apart from an individual here or there. That is why I want to give absolute assurance that the South African security force exists to protect the interests of all South Africans. If individual police or members of the Defense Force have not acted impartially, and are involved in violence in any way whatsoever, by instigating violence, strong disciplinary steps will be taken against them. This has been done before. [passage omitted]

I think what is needed is that all political leaders should accept greater responsibility for actions by their supporters. There are many of Mr. Mandela's supporters, and Inkatha supporters, and other party's supporters who become directly involved in violence. [passage omitted]

On the question of Inkatha, I released a statement on the facts that were given to me and Minister Barend du Plessis, to the press on 30 June. I think this was the date of the press conference. I also stated clearly that those facts were provided after extensive research and investigation. Adding to this statement, the minister of law and order also issued a statement in which he confirmed why these facts were not made available to me earlier. He said that the police could have made a mistake because there were indications which could be interpreted as assistance

to Inkatha. I am absolutely happy, after thorough investigation, that this is part of a chapter which belongs to the past. [passage omitted]

[Robinson] Right, sir. I would like to address the matter of an interim government, because it was a very important announcement you made at Codesa, but because of the clash between you and Mr. Mandela it was almost lost. Can we just discuss that quickly. You said that it is possible to establish an interim government which will be elected following which the interim government will itself negotiate further on a new constitution for South Africa. There are objections from the ANC and other parties. Can you just let us know how long such an interim government should be in authority?

[De Klerk] Mr. Robinson, I did not announce what our plans were for an interim government. I said we were prepared to lay our plans on the table, not how an interim government must look like. But we have always said that is a very viable option at this stage. Our standpoint has been is that this would be one of our options, once we had discussed interim measures with each other. At Codesa I announced all our options which we should be focussed on. Second, I clearly said that one should not just depend on the government when discussing this. One must also look to the legal authorities. The government at the moment is not representing the entire nation. Parliament does not represent the entire nation. I think the achievement of peace and real cooperation will only come about if we negotiate an interim government which will represent the entire nation, and also a legal authority representing the whole nation. What should now take place on this matter, and I would like to avoid any confusion, is that during the negotiating process, all parties, including ours, come forward with their own plans on how an interim government should look. I only presented our proposals to cover the government as well as Parliament.

[Robinson] There are objections because it has been said there must be an elected Parliament in future. Why then an interim measure? And how must the interim government be elected? By means of a referendum?

[De Klerk] But that is what must be concluded by negotiations. Our plan proposes what it should be like, and how it should be elected; and better proposals should be negotiated, or other alternatives presented. We go to the negotiations with an open mind. I think no one must get too excited now. Every one, apart from us, has been calling for an interim government. Now we are saying let us focus on that. Earlier too, we said let us make it a priority item on the negotiations agenda. I am really surprised at some people. Of course there must be a referendum. We stressed that the introduction of any form of an interim government must take place on a constitutional basis. We are not prepared for the existing constitution to be suspended to create a constitutional vacuum in which a government will not be bound by constitutional rules, and that this country must be controlled by an authority over which there will be no

constitutional control. We say: First, you have a plan worked out, this is what must be done in Codesa. Second, then you present your plans to the public to obtain a mandate. Once you have the mandate the existing Parliament will amend the Constitution. If that constitution has been amended, the composition of a new Parliament, by means of a referendum, and elections can take place. The nature and the contents of the agreement reached during negotiations, which will then be empowered by a mandate, will determine if and when there will be an elections.

Foreign Observers Hail Convention

*MB2312093491 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0700 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] The Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa], which took place over the weekend, is being viewed as a huge success.

Delegates and foreign diplomatic observers who attended have enthusiastically hailed the convention as a historic miracle. Many say its credibility was ironically established by the emotional outbursts and unveiled anger of the two main players, Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk.

Meanwhile, leading Nationalists and other parliamentary representatives agree that Codesa will, in fact, become parliament and its drafts legislation.

Following the historic deliberations which started on Friday and ended on Saturday, observers say it's clear that those who stayed away from Codesa have seriously misjudged the situation and have marginalized themselves. This poses a major threat to the Conservative Party [CP], the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] and the Azanian People's Organization.

Observers say continued refusal to participate will lead to divisions and risks such as are already occurring in the CP and PAC, when those who don't join Codesa will almost certainly be excluded from any role in future governments.

De Klerk, Mandela Said on Right Wing 'Hit List'

*MB2312135391 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1100
GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] The police are aware of a right-wing hit list containing the names of prominent political figures, including those of the state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, and the ANC [African National Congress] president, Mr. Nelson Mandela.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, said the police had been aware for some time of the activities of certain extremists, ultra right wing groups. He said the activities of such groups were monitored continuously.

The police have called on all peace-loving South Africans to work with the police so that action could be taken against these groups.

Foreign Minister Announces Recognition of Russia

*MB2212144491 Johannesburg SABA in English
1435 GMT 22 Dec 91*

[Text] Pretoria Dec 22 SABA—The South African Government on Sunday [22 December] announced its recognition of the independence of the Russian Federation and the government of President Boris Yeltsin.

The announcement by Foreign Minister Pik Botha followed the signing of the Commonwealth accord in the Kazakh capital Alma-Ata on Saturday, creating the Commonwealth of Independent States of former Soviet republics.

A statement by Mr Botha said the level of relations between the two countries had still to be decided.

ANC's Boesak Interviewed on Political Situation

*MB2112195491 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[Telephone interview with African National Congress, ANC, member Reverend Allan Boesak by Farouk Chotia; place and date not given; from the "Focus on Africa" program—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The considerable task of fleshing out a new constitution for South Africa is under way and the African National Congress [ANC] is at the same table with the National Party, something that could have been unimaginable just a couple of years ago. On the line Farouk Chotia asked Allan Boesak, one of the ANC delegates, what it was like sitting down with the old enemy.

[Boesak] Well, this is the time to bring everybody who is in the political playing field together to try and see how much common ground actually could be among all of us, and just to see how those people feel. They say that they represent constituencies. Now is not the time to challenge that, but to see whether we can agree at least on one basic thing and that is to get rid of the last vestiges of apartheid and to commit everybody to work toward a free and open, and democratic South Africa. To that end I think it is all right if everybody is here.

[Chotia] Today, the National Party basically went to the platform, boldly said: We apologize for apartheid. You must be pleased with that, a major concession from them.

[Boesak] Well, that is a major concession. I am still unhappy that the National Party still feels it necessary to [words indistinct] that by saying the intention was not to hurt anybody because I think that they should have known that gathering the power into the hands of a minority over the majority would indeed bring injustices, and hurt many people. But as much as they have

brought themselves today to say that what they have done in the past had indeed been wrong, of course one feels very good about that. I hope that this is not just an admission of expediency, but indeed opening the door to the kind of political cooperation we would need with the government to make Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] something that is worthwhile.

[Chotia] You admit they have made a major concession. What concession is the ANC now going to make to them?

[Boesak] Well, the ANC has been making concessions all along. The ANC has, for instance, not insisted that everything that we want should be on the agenda. The ANC had been trying very much to bring along all those parties. The ANC will not make any concession on the basic issues which for us would be things like the interim government, and an elected constituent assembly.

De Klerk Issues Statement on Covert Activities

*MB1912170191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1645 GMT 19 Dec 91*

["Press statement by State President F.W. de Klerk in connection with the report by the Advisory Committee on Special Secret Projects"—SAPA headline]

[Text] The Advisory Committee on Special Secret Projects, of which I announced the appointment earlier this year, has completed its investigations and its recommendations are being studied by the government.

The committee, under the chairmanship of Professor Ellison Kahn, investigated and judged continuing secret and special secret projects in terms of the following guidelines which I announced at an international media conference on 30 July 1991, namely:

- no political party may be advantaged or disadvantaged by such a project;
- it had to be in the broad national interest; and
- it must play a positive role in promoting peace and the combatting of intimidation, sanctions and isolation.

The committee found that continuing government activities in this connection had met the above requirements. Wherever the committee had recommended the termination of a project, the government had accepted the recommendation.

As announced previously, the committee also had to furnish me with advice on cases in which the government had already decided to terminate the projects but had not been able to do so immediately because of contractual obligations. The committee, who also applied the abovementioned guidelines to these cases and particularly to the manner of their termination, made certain suggestions and expressed its satisfaction about the conclusion of these projects.

Naturally, it was not the committee's task to investigate projects which had already been completed and terminated when it began its work.

In assessing secret and special secret projects, the committee also reviewed the line-function activities of certain departments and was satisfied that departments such as the National Intelligence Service, the South African Defence Force and the South African Police had to continue, of necessity, in their line-functions with covert activities.

The last part of the committee's activities was to review proposed draft legislation on the treatment of secret funds. The committee made its contributions in this respect and legislation in this connection will be tabled in Parliament early next year.

Since classified information is dealt with in the committee's report, it goes without saying that I am not in a position to release the report.

In conclusion, I wish to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to the chairman, Prof Ellison Kahn, and the members of the Advisory Committee, for having completed this important task in such a short period of time. Issued by the Office of the State President Pretoria 19 December 1991

Law Minister Issues Statement on Inkatha Funding

*MB1912180591 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1751 GMT 19 Dec 91*

[Text] Pretoria Dec 19 SAPA— Police had not brought "the facts" of a rally held on the Natal south coast in January to the attention of State President F.W. de Klerk as they had believed with good intent it had not fallen within the scope of assistance to the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP].

This is according to Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, who in a statement on Thursday, was reacting to a WEEKLY MAIL report that police allegedly funded an Inkatha rally at Mzumbe on January 26 despite government assurances that secret funding was stopped early in 1990.

Mr Kriel confirmed the "funds were dealt with subject to the prescribed regulations and were only used to partly pay for transport costs. These arrangements were made at low level".

He said the decision not to report the matter to Mr de Klerk in July, when revelations of government funding of two IFP rallies resulted in the so-called Inkathagate scandal, "may have been an error of judgement, but I am convinced that the actions were not mala fide (with bad intent)".

He said police had been of the opinion the rally was initiated by the local headmen and not Inkatha, and that it would contribute to ending widespread violence in the area.

"The police believed bona fide that this matter did not fall within the scope of assistance to Inkatha. Consequently, the facts of this matter were not brought to the attention of the state president during July 1991 when the other incidents were made public."

Mr Kriel said he had ascertained all projects "of this nature" had been seized as claimed in a statement by Mr de Klerk on July 30.

He emphasized he expected and would ensure "absolute impartiality" within the police, claiming there was complete acceptance of this policy within the force.

Inkatha Table Mountain Chairman Shot Dead 17 Dec

*MB1812110191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1001 GMT 18 Dec 91*

[Text] Pietermaritzburg Dec 18 SAPA—The chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) at Table Mountain near Pietermaritzburg, Mr Thomas Mshoki Gcabashe, has been shot dead, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reports.

Police reported that Mr Gcabashe, 45, was shot five times in the neck and shoulder as he drove into his property in White Road in Pietermaritzburg in Natal at 7pm on Tuesday [17 December].

The IFP chairman's brother, Sabelo, an Inkatha leader at Maqongqo in the Table Mountain area, is still in a serious condition in hospital following an attack three days ago.

Police found more than 20 spent AK-47 cartridges at the scene of the Maqongqo shooting.

Joint Bank With Saudi Arabia Opens in Cape Town

*MB1812110091 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0600
GMT 18 Dec 91*

[Text] A joint South African-Saudi Arabian bank has opened a branch in Cape Town to serve the Muslim community. Earlier this month a branch was opened in Durban.

A spokesman for (Al-Baraqa) Investments and Development said it was not a breach of sanctions against South Africa because the bank would be dealing only with the Muslim community. The bank was established in the country last year by a Saudi Arabian company and Muslim South African shareholders.

Alleged Police Killing of Durban Youth Probed

*MB2212193991 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1927 GMT 22 Dec 91*

[Text] Pretoria Dec 22 SAPA—Allegations that white rightwing policemen stoned and clubbed to death a black youth trapped in a canal at Richards Bay in northern Natal, were being investigated "at high level," police confirmed on Sunday [22 December].

Police spokesman Maj Ray Harrald told SAPA that allegations about the death of 19-year-old Sibusiso Nyawo of Mxingaxi near Richards Bay were being viewed in a "very serious light". His statement follows

the publication of details of the alleged incident in a Durban-based Sunday newspaper.

Maj Harrald said however: "There is no evidence at this stage to support the allegations as made in the article."

He also emphatically denied the newspaper's claim that the attorney-general had taken over the investigation. The incident "will be thoroughly investigated and on completion the docket will be forwarded to the attorney-general for his decision".

According to the newspaper report, Mr Nyawo dived into a harbour canal while fleeing a policeman who suspected him of breaking windows.

About 20 policemen who arrived at the scene directed their vehicle headlights at the trapped youth and allegedly proceeded to hurl rocks while some of their girlfriends watched and cheered, shouting "mooi skoot" (good shot) each time the youth was hit.

Information in the report was sourced to a witness, Mr Dean Smith, and a policeman whose name was withheld to protect him.

The alleged incident occurred one night in December. No date was given in the report.

The unidentified policeman was quoted as saying a police warrant officer apparently in charge of proceedings ordered Mr Smith and police colleagues to discontinue attempts to arrest the youth, who was wading in one metre-deep water.

Instead the law enforcers threw stones and when the youth attempted to clamber out of the canal a policeman bashed him twice on the head with a wheel spanner, forcing him back into the water.

The injured youth was left for dead and his body recovered from the water two days later. The corpse was bloated and crab-eaten.

On Sunday Maj Harrald said the South African Police had "on numerous occasions stated that it will not tolerate members taking the law into their own hands".

"Should the investigations prove that any member or members were involved, the law will be allowed to run its course," and the necessary steps, including suspension, would be taken, Maj Harrald said.

He asked anyone with information to contact the investigating officer, Lt Col Chris Nel at (0354) 42424.

Press Reviews on Current Events, Issues

Press Review for 18 Dec

MB1812114191

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Criticism of PAC's 'Negative Radicalism'—The Pan-Africanist Congress, PAC, decision not to participate in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa, talks beginning 20 December "is not much of a surprise," declares a page 20 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 18 December. "After all, this is a relatively painless—if cynical—means of maintaining one's political 'purity' while leaving the door ajar for participation at a later stage." "What is remarkable, and distressingly so, is the negative radicalism of the organisation's current anti-negotiations stance. Beneath the disgraceful banner 'One Settler, One Bullet,' delegates in Cape Town heard PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim say it was not enough merely to criticise the way in which Codesa had been constituted—Codesa 'had to be brought down.' The PAC does not have the power to do any such thing, of course."

BUSINESS DAY

'Optimism' About Codesa Talks—"Despite the odd spat, there is a cheerful belief that differences [at Codesa talks beginning 20 December] will be resolved, that impasses will be avoided and that nobody who has agreed to go will storm out in a huff," notes Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 18 December in a page 6 editorial. "That optimism, born of nearly two years of informal negotiations since the ANC, the PAC and the Communist Party were unbanned, should be enough to see Codesa's opening two-day meeting to a successful conclusion." "If negotiations are to work, those at the table must show by results where the power and the influence lie. They must turn those empty chairs from a symbol of principle to proof of political impotence. After all, there's nothing a politician hates more than irrelevance."

SOWETAN

Editorial Hopes Government Not 'Stalling' on Codesa—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 18 December in a page 10 editorial says Codesa is getting off to "a grumbling, halting start." "The PAC—we believe mistakenly—has said it will not take part. The air is thick with cries of outrage that Codesa is undemocratic and a plot between the Government and the ANC [African National Congress]." Now Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has said that decisions taken by Codesa "will have no legal force and that this is an issue which must still be negotiated." "We hope that the Government has not here embarked upon a giant stalling tactic and that it is actually eager for a settlement as it says it is. Part of that means, we believe, that Codesa's decisions are, in fact, given legal force as early as possible next year."

Press Review for 19 Dec

MB1912121591

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Inaktha Funding Allegations To Cause Government 'Discomfiture'—"Allegations about government funding of an Inkatha rally and of the SADF [South African Defense Force] pouring in millions of rands for Inkatha hit squad training have embarrassed State President De Klerk," notes Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 17 December in its page 6 editorial. "One may go so far as to suggest that coming just before Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], the allegations were deliberately planted to cause the government the maximum discomfiture. It is therefore essential that Mr De Klerk clarifies the matter and demonstrates once more his scrupulous honesty."

Warning Not To Ignore Anticodesa Emotions—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 18 December in its page 6 editorial says "on both the White Right and the Black ultra-left, the government faces strong opposition. This makes it all the more important that any settlement that is reached should take into account the strong emotions that are being aroused outside Codesa, and the views of those not represented at Codesa should not be totally ignored. They have allowed their cases to go by default. But that will be purely academic if the country explodes into civil war."

BUSINESS DAY

Potential for South African-African Business—"The agreement between M-Net and Kenya Television Network is an early indication of the potential for business between South Africa and other African countries, especially in the technological field," begins a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 19 December. "Clandestine trade with Africa has been going on for years, of course, but now that the apartheid era is over, governments are dropping pretences and seeking this country's participation in joint ventures and development programmes."

THE NAMIBIAN

Criticism of SWAPO Recommendation To Enlarge Army—"And so SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] has painlessly metamorphosed from a liberation movement to a political party, and its first congress is now an established fact," writes editor Gwen Lister in her "Political Perspective" column on page 6 of Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English on 13 December. Lister does "not personally agree with the Congress recommendation that the size of the NDF [Namibian Defense Force] be enlarged. The past few months have proved to us that soldiers are dissatisfied, not very well paid, miss their families and that they have little to do with themselves in peacetime. To enlarge the army would merely result in enlarging the problem. "Since the congress itself made quite an issue of crime and even 'declared war on it', as the President put it, it would make more sense to enlarge the police for."

Press Review for 20 Dec

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[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Buthelezi 'Touchy' on Codesa Participation—The "momentous, dignity and optimism" of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa, "make it all the more tragic that Chief Buthelezi of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] should have succumbed, in unstatesmanlike fashion, to the temptations of grandstanding," points out a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 20 December. "His decision to boycott Codesa undoubtedly detracts from the powerful symbolism (not the content, as an IFP delegation will be present) of the occasion. Arcane sensitivities about the role of the (constitutionally apolitical) Zulu king will not convince the majority of South Africans that Chief Buthelezi is justified in taking this churlish step. Codesa must proceed without further reference to the touchy chief. In time he will come back into negotiations, as he must, and he should not be allowed now to spoil a moment this country has been waiting decades for."

BUSINESS DAY

Economy Key To RSA Future—"The politicians may talk, but the economy holds the key to our future," begins a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 20 December. "Those trying to overcome nationalism and racism should take care to nurture the economy. Reconciliation will come with stability and prosperity; hopeless people seek solace in ethnic loyalties and blame others for their woes. Unless they can instill a belief in a better future the politicians talk in vain."

NEW NATION

Call for Codesa 'Legal Authority'—Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 20 December-16 January says in its page 6 editorial "Codesa represents the high point of the negotiations process and is unlikely to fail, even if the structure itself founders." "We do not say all those in Codesa are necessarily committed to peace and democracy, but we do say our duty is to ensure that, at the end of the day, that is what is achieved." "But for Codesa to

have meaning, it will have to be invested with legal authority so that we can begin to walk the first mile to the constituent assembly."

THE WEEKLY MAIL

Inkatha Exercise Influence Far Beyond Support—"If anyone had any doubts about the validity of the comparison between MI's [Military Intelligence] two progeny—Inkatha and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]—Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi acted swiftly to dispel these when he warned on Sunday [15 December] that his homeland government and the Zulu king should not be left out of negotiations, 'lest what happens in this country emerges as so terrible and so destructive that the civil wars (in Mozambique and Angola) are child's play by comparison'," notes the page 18 editorial in Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 19 December-2 January. "The other political parties are showing remarkable tolerance and maturity in swallowing their objections and doing what is necessary to keep Inkatha in the talks. The upshot, however, is that by means of threats of violence and disruption, Inkatha is exercising an influence far beyond its support and credibility."

Settlements Likely When 'Shared Sense of Crisis'—Steven Friedman writes in his "Worm's Eye" column on page 19 that "staring over the edge of a cliff can wonderfully concentrate the minds of politicians. But first they have to know that the cliff is there. As Codesa meets to begin constitutional talks, another set of bargainers is inching towards a less publicised agreement which may hold some lessons for the negotiators. They are the parties to the Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber—municipalities, civics and provincial authorities—who have reached an agreement in principle on interim government for Johannesburg, Soweto and their surrounds." Movement toward the agreement "picked up when both sides stared over the cliff and realised that, if no deal was reached, there would be no money for electricity or water in Soweto (or other townships) and it might descend into chaos. This seems to confirm that, in a society as polarised as ours, in which expectations of what negotiation can deliver are still far apart, settlements are only likely when there is what Chamber chairman Van Zyl Slabbert calls a 'shared sense of crisis'."

Burkina Faso

Government, Trade Unions Sign Agreement

AB2212182591 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale
du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] The first government-trade unions negotiations on worker demands ended this morning. A protocol agreement was signed at the end of this meeting marked by dialogue.

First, it must be pointed out that these talks are the first of their kind in Burkina. And as the protocol agreement states, the talks were marked by consultation, dialogue, and above all, frankness. This, moreover, led to the harmonization of views on the five points on the list of demands. Concerning the first point, for example, namely, the stopping of reorganization exercises, the government pledged that workers will be associated with all reorganization exercises. Moreover, priority will be given to voluntary retirement and the best retirement conditions will be worked out in collaboration with the social and financial partners. Concerning the second point, the obstacles hindering the granting of compensation and fringe benefits in the public and semipublic sectors have henceforth been removed. This also applies to the annual bonus. Still concerning the private and parastatals sectors, no deductions will be effected on the housing allowance as of 1 January 1992. The accompanying legislation with a view to establishing an effective implementation date will be adopted. The deadlines are 31 January 1992 for housing allowances, and 31 December 1991 for compensation and fringe benefits. The effective implementation of these decisions by the various companies will be done in accordance with the economic situation of each enterprise. The government also agreed on the downward revision of the [words indistinct] with the government taking charge of a maximum of six children per family. In addition, the family allowance per child has been increased from 700 francs to 1000 CFA francs with a limit of six children.

As for the housing allowance paid to civil servants, the status quo will be maintained for the 1992 financial year, which means in actual terms that the 50 percent deduction will still be effected on the said allowance. Henceforth, the system of promoting civil servants without any accompanying financial benefits has been put to an end effective 1992 fiscal year. The measure concerning promotion without financial benefits will be the subject of detailed discussion by a technical committee to be set up. The results of this committee's deliberations are expected to be submitted within three months. A preliminary solution has been found to the question of administrative and financial rehabilitation of all Burkinabe, sanctioned for trade union activities or for political reasons.

According to the protocol agreement, a law on administrative and financial rehabilitation will be adopted at a cabinet session. The various revolutionary legislations demanded by the trade unions are all currently being

handled by the headquarters of the State Inspectorate. The results will be made public by mid-January 1992.

I add, to make it complete, that the document was signed by the minister of civil service and administrative modernization for the government and on the other side by nine trade union federations and three independent trade unions.

CFD Sets Conditions for Forum Participation

AB2212175591 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale
du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Press release issued by the Coordination of Democratic Forces, CFD, in Ouagadougou on 18 December following President Blaise Compaore's proposal on the organization of a national reconciliation forum—read by Gnani Yaya Tamani]

[Text] Following the communique from the Burkinabe Presidency on 14 December announcing the future organization of a national reconciliation forum, the Coordination of Democratic Forces [CFD] has made it a point to reaffirm to the national and international audience its position, which has been reiterated on several occasions: the promotion of dialogue through the organization of a sovereign national conference; and a meeting or a forum with executive decisions as proposed by the consultative committee.

Nevertheless, the climate of generalized violence affecting our national political life, criminal acts, arrests, tortures, and intimidation of all types, which generally pose individual and collective security problems, has forced the CFD to lay the following conditions:

1. Adoption of decisions to permit openness and speed up findings of the commission of inquiry with the participation of the opposition and human rights movements on the 9 December criminal attempts and the 10 December incidents;
2. Immediate end to torture and harassment at the various trials on the 1 December events;
3. Adoption of measures to ensure the protection of goods and people, notably political party leaders and activists.

The CFD has the right to express satisfaction with the concrete and practical measures adopted by the national authorities before announcing its participation in the reconciliation forum.

[Issued] Ouagadougou, 18 December 1991

[Signed] Coordination of Democratic Forces.

The Gambia

President Jawara To Seek Reelection in 1992

AB1812201591 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 18 Dec 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] President Dawda Jawara of The Gambia has done an about face and decided just to go round after all. Early this month he dropped a bombshell at the congress of his ruling People's Progressive Party by saying he was going to stand down after 31 years in office. Many found it difficult to believe. And now, after a meeting of his party's Central Committee, President Jawara says he will stand in next April's presidential elections after all. On the line to Banjul, Akoi Amusu asked Sir Dawda what made him change his mind.

[Begin recording] [Jawara] Well, when I made the announcement about a fortnight ago towards of the party congress, the immediate and spontaneous reaction was against my stepping down and in the past three days the party Central Committee and the party Secretariat met and as a result of those meetings strong pleas are made to me to change my mind and, in fact, there were demonstrations here in Banjul by people from all over the country. So, in the face of this I decided to go along with the wish of the majority of the people.

[Amusu] But Sir Dawda, presumably you were expecting the people to have that reaction when you first made the announcement.

[Jawara] No, no, I did not expect that there will be any such reaction. What I had expected was that once I made that announcement, there will be signs as to what the feeling is about, who should replace me, that maybe the party will go into action and elect a presidential candidate.

[Amusu] Would it not actually be a good thing for both the party and the country to have some new blood at the top?

[Jawara] Oh yes, indeed. I thought this would be so but that does not seem to be the thinking of the people at this moment, at this time. I suppose it will come some time in the future.

[Amusu] It is, perhaps, the fate that the party would find it extremely divisive and damaging to have to have some kind of leadership contest and that you are, in fact, rescuing the party from that fate?

[Jawara] Well, that could be an element in the whole thing but I think it goes beyond that really.

[Amusu] But how long can the party delay the (?evil) day? It [has] got at some time to face this decision about a new leader.

[Jawara] Well, I suppose when it comes to the crunch the party will be strong enough to overcome this kind of the situation.

[Amusu] So people might say that this was actually a failing of The Gambian political system, that it would find it impossible to accepting to face change.

[Jawara] Well, no. I believe democracy rests on the wishes and the will of the people. In fact, what I had quoted very frequently during this past fortnight was the motto of our party which is Vox Populi Vox Dei, the Voice of the People is the Voice of God. That is the essence of democracy. [end recording]

Ghana

Diplomatic Ties Established With Baltic States

AB2112153091 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
Radio Network in English 2000 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] The government has approved the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ghana and the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Speaking to newsmen, the deputy secretary for foreign affairs, Dr. Mohamad ibn Chambas, said his ministry has been authorized to take the necessary steps for the exchange of notes with them.

Dr. Chambas said that the Ghana Mission in Moscow will, for the time being, have accreditations to the three states.

Ivory Coast

National Assembly Adopts 1992 Budget

AB2112073691 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN
in French 18 Dec 91 p 8

[Text] While there was a 0.90 percent decrease in the operational budget [BGF] for the 1992 fiscal year—it stands at 442.5 billion CFA francs compared with 446.5 billion CFA for 1991—the special investment and equipment budget [BSIE] has increased during the same period by 5.548 billion CFA francs.

The 1992 BSIE stands at 113.488 billion CFA francs compared with 107.94 billion CFA francs for the 1991 BSIE, that is an increase of 5.13 percent.

Minister [delegate to the prime minister in charge of economy, finance, commerce, and planning], Kablan Duncan, who was the legislators' guest, yesterday afternoon explained that the 1992 BSIE budget is an end of crisis one. We are therefore at the threshold of the recovery and expansion of the Ivorian economy after a deep recession. This budget is a synthesis of "our political willingness and economic and social imperatives to resolutely give impulse to the appropriate atmosphere and conditions for this recovery on the one hand, and on the other hand, the desire to consolidate the effects of the

measures of budgetary rigor, reorganization of public finances, and restoration of the main economic and financial balances of the state, which marked the stabilization of our economy."

As for the 1992 BGF, Minister Duncan remarked that it was elaborated "by taking into account a group of internal and external constraints whose conciliation proved to be very delicate."

The downward review of the budget derives, according to him, from the still moderated recovery of economic activity for the 1992 year and the persistence of the terms of exchange. This decrease in credits does not affect all sectors.

Thus, certain public services—notably the financial services for the program of fiscal recovery (especially the landed property tax) and for the collection of customs and excise, as well as the sectors of health, national education, and professional and technical education for the program of human resources revalorization—had their allocations increased.

Presenting the 1991 results, Minister Duncan said that revenue is expected to amount to 645 billion CFA francs (24 percent of gross domestic product, GDP), which corresponds to a maintenance of 1990 revenue. Expenditures are expected to reach 630 billion CFA francs (23.4 percent of GDP).

The fall in expenditure is mainly due to a better mastery of salary flows, notably through a reduction of foreign technical assistance. The other operational expenses (182 billion CFA francs) have been reduced by 26 billion CFA francs as compared to 1990.

[Paris AFP in French at 1854 GMT on 20 December reports that the "National Assembly on 20 December adopted the 556 billion CFA francs budget." The report adds that it was an "unanimous" vote, with the "167 deputies present" all voting in favor.]

Liberia

Taylor 'Importing' Weapons for 'Possible Attack'

AB2112110291 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] The government says that the National Patriotic Front is still importing arms into Liberia for what has been described as a possible attack on the capital, Monrovia. A recent news report says trucks loaded with arms and ammunition left Mr. Taylor's main supply base in Burkina Faso through the Ivory Coast to Liberia. Dr. Sawyer said that it is regrettable to note that both Burkina Faso and the Ivory Coast, who have pledged to help resolve the Liberian crisis, are still providing military assistance to Mr. Charles Taylor.

Partial Goods Embargo on NPFL-Controlled Areas

AB2112100091 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] The interim government has placed an immediate embargo on all consumer and other luxurious items leaving Monrovia for areas under the control of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, the NPFL. The items include (?most) petroleum products, cigarettes, beer, and other goods. The embargo does not, however, affect essential food and medical supplies.

The government also says all vehicles leaving the capital Monrovia will be subject to ownership verification while NPFL officials will no longer enjoy free residence at the OAU village in Virginia, outside Monrovia. These officials will also be subject to search when entering and leaving Monrovia, except members of the Elections Commission and the ad hoc Supreme Court.

In a statement delivered yesterday at the Executive Mansion, President Sawyer said the government's action was aimed at curtailing what he called the lucrative businesses being carried out by NPFL officials at the expense of the Liberian people. He told Liberians, particularly those residing in the Monrovia area, to be prepared to accept the consequences of government's actions, noting that no sacrifice is too great in the cause of the nation.

Dr. Sawyer observed that NPFL officials often come to Monrovia under the guise of peace negotiations to carry out business transactions while holding their fellow Liberians hostage and at the same time exploiting the nation's resources. The president spoke of the massive exploitation of the nation's natural resources, especially logs and minerals, by the NPFL officials without accountability to the Liberian people. He said the government can no longer tolerate this on the part of the NPFL officials while the Liberian people continue to suffer.

President Sawyer, however, pointed out that the measures announced yesterday by the interim government would be lifted as soon as the peace process is again on course, especially when the roads are reopened.

UN Suspending Relief Efforts 'Indefinitely'

AB2312110491 Paris AFP in English 1031 GMT
23 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Monrovia, Dec 23 (AFP)—The United Nations has "indefinitely" suspended relief activities in Liberia's southeastern Grand Gedeh County until the country's main rebel group accounts for a recent attack on one of its workers, UN officials said.

Sean Devereaux, head of the UN's Zwedru office, was attacked December 13 for refusing to give relief food to rebels from Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). UN special emergency relief coordinator Ross Mountain said here late Sunday [22 December].

UN relief activities in the area—birthplace of the late president Samuel Doe—will remain suspended until the NPFL abides by agreements previously signed with the UN to protect relief workers from harassment, he said. [passage omitted]

Niger

Prime Minister Urges Solidarity on Anniversary

AB1812150091 Dakar PANA in English 1150 GMT
18 Dec 91

[Text] Niamey, 18 Dec (ANP/PANA)—Niger's prime minister, Cheiffou Amadou, has urged political parties, trade unions and other associations to incorporate political and civic education in their various programmes as part of the country's search for national unity. In a message to the nation to mark the country's 33rd independence anniversary on Tuesday, Amadou urged his countrymen to forget past and recent rancour and cultivate the spirit of solidarity.

He said the interior minister recently made useful contact in the nomadic zone in the north adding, my brotherly hand remains stretched in order to examine with all those who feel that their aspirations and yearnings are unknown or have been ignored. According to the prime minister, the major problem of the nomadic zone is that of development, adding that the government would adopt the appropriate administrative reform policy and territorial administration in order to eliminate the regional imbalance.

On to the country's economic situation, plagued by a deficit estimated at 100 billion FCFA [CFA francs], Amadou said that the government was adopting an economic and financial reform programme endorsed by bilateral and multilateral creditors.

The prime minister, who said the government would adopt openness as its golden rule in the management of public affairs, thanked Niger's creditors and external partners for their support.

On regional economic integration, Amadou said his country was determined to make positive contribution right from the planning stage to the decision taking and the execution level.

Nigeria

Babangida, DPRK Official Discuss Relations

AB2112151091 Abuja Radio Nigeria Network
in English 2100 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] The Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK] has solicited Nigeria's support in her talks with South Korea and at the reunification of the Korean Peninsula. The deputy North Korean minister of the armed forces, Vice-Marshal O Chin-u, made the request today at the Presidential Villa, Abuja, where he held

talks with President Ibrahim Babangida. Vice-Marshal O Chin-u described Nigeria as North Korea's best friend in Africa. He said that his country was eager to improve military, economic, and political relations with Nigeria.

In his response, General Babangida gave assurance that the Federal Government will continue to support (?bids) for the reunification of North and South Korea. He said the visit would help in consummating relations between Nigeria and North Korea and enable Nigeria to share experience with North Korea in political, economic, and military development.

Niger Premier Ends Visit; Communique Issued

AB1912101091 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 2100 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Nigeria and Niger Republic are to renew their cooperation agreement in the fields of energy, trade, and education. This is contained in a communique signed in Abuja today by the vice president, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, and the prime minister of Niger Republic, Mr. Cheiffou Amadou, who paid a one-day visit to Nigeria.

The two leaders agreed that the accord on the supply of electricity to Niger Republic, which expires next month, should be renewed. They stressed the need for a new bilateral trade agreement to replace the one signed in 1976. It was agreed that Nigeria should increase her assistance in training of Niger students in Nigerian universities.

The two leaders commended the efforts of the Nigeria-Niger joint commission to raise bilateral cooperation to new heights and urged the body to expedite action on all outstanding matters. They called on the (?parties) in Liberia to respect the Yamoussoukro agreement to ensure an early return of peace in that country.

Details Given on Federal Capital's Move to Abuja

AB2012094091 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 1500 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Details of the decree proclaiming Abuja as the nation's capital and the seat of the government of the federation have been released. The Decree No. 51 stipulates the boundary of the new capital and addresses the ownership of all land within the area and the Federal Government. It further states that notwithstanding the provision in any enactment to the contrary, every instrument including a decree as from the 12th of this month must be executed, signed, and made in the federal capital, Abuja. According to the decree, all acts, or things done, made, or purported to have been made or done in Lagos before the commencement of the decree, will continue to be valid to the extent of their tenure.

In accordance with the provisions of the decree, President Ibrahim Babangida moved from Abuja to Lagos on the 12th of this month, formally transferring the seat of government. A series of impressive ceremonies, which began in Lagos and ended in Abuja, marked the movement.

Senegal

Diouf Hails Islamic Conference Summit

AB1812151091 Dakar PANA in English 1219 GMT
18 Dec 91

[Text] Dakar, 18 Dec (APS-SEN/PANA)—President Abdou Diouf of Senegal has said that the summit of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (ICO) held recently in the Senegalese capital achieved very positive result on all spheres. In an official communique issued at the end of the Council of Ministers' meeting in Dakar on Tuesday, Diouf said that the 9 to 11 December ICO summit recorded an excellent rate of participation "and that relevant resolutions" were adopted.

According to the communique, the Council unanimously congratulated the Senegalese head of state, and current chairman of the ICO for the able manner in which he directed proceedings at the summit and for the considerable results it achieved.

The ICO has thus reached a turning point with the adoption of resolutions of economic and social nature such as the cancellation of public debts of the least developed countries, the increase in the capital of the Islamic Development Bank and protection of women and children, the communique said.

Togo

Koffigoh Asks Legislature To Back Government

AB2212130291 Paris AFP in English
1252 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Lome, Dec 22 (AFP) - Interim Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh has asked Togo's transitional parliament to come out of hiding and give its backing to a new, broad-based government team, sources close to him said Sunday [22 December].

Koffigoh, challenged since last month by the military, has drawn up a "social contract for a peaceful transition" to democracy and wants to submit it Monday to the High

Council of the Republic (HCR), or acting parliament, the sources said. His new government is expected to include at least one or two members of the former single ruling Togolese People's Rally (RPT), which the HCR has announced plans to dissolve, sparking a military revolt.

Most of the 79 members of the HCR went underground or fled abroad when troops launched a first coup bid against Koffigoh on November 28 and demanded the dissolution of the acting parliament. [passage omitted]

The interim premier says he wants all "political sensibilities" represented in government without "exclusion" and plans Monday to call for a "two-year social truce" and "guarantees of security for all" as part of a 10-point programme, the sources said Sunday.

Multiparty Democracy Council Created

AB2212172891 Paris AFP in French 1642 GMT
19 Dec 91

[Text] Lome, 19 Dec (AFP)—Today in Lome, 19 Togolese political parties and 15 associations announced the creation of a "National Council for the Safeguard of Democracy" (CNSD). The Council's objective is to "bring together the maximum number of Togolese and all the active forces of the nation to safeguard the democratic institutions and help again to reach a national consensus," according to Edem Kodjo, its spokesman and leader of the Togolese Union for Democracy (UTD). The CNSD "is an important step toward a common platform of the democratic opposition for the upcoming elections," Mr. Kodjo added.

Furthermore, those 19 political parties stated that the October and December military coup attempts were prompted by the fact that the "dignitaries of the former regime" did not want the transition assembly, the High Council of the Republic, HCR, to "disclose to the people, through parliamentary investigations, all the financial malpractices, the violations of human rights, or the attempts to destabilize the transition institutions in which they are involved." "One therefore understands the aggressiveness with which the putschists stick to their demand relating to the dissolution of the HCR," a communique states.

On 15 December, the radio had thrice broadcast a communique left by some soldiers, demanding anew the dissolution of the HCR. That communique, signed by the "Togolese Armed Forces," was soon after withdrawn from the radio by an Army officer.

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